

Journal of the Royal Society of Arts

NO. 4900

FRIDAY, 29TH MAY, 1953

VOL. CI

AWARD OF ALBERT MEDAL FOR 1953



With the approval of the President the Council has awarded the Albert Medal for 1953 to Dr. E. D. Adrian, O.M., M.D., P.R.S., for his outstanding contributions to neuro-physiology. Dr. Adrian is President of the Royal Society and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; he was Professor of Physiology in the University of Cambridge from 1937 to 1951 and Nobel Laureate in 1932. He received the Royal Society's Royal Medal in 1934 and the Copley Medal in 1946. Professor E. C. Dodds, M.V.O., D.Sc., has written the following note:

Adrian's work has had a profound effect on the course of biological science in the last two decades. His early training with Keith Lucas and in clinical neurology up to 1918, equipped him to make full use of the opportunities to

reinvestigate much of nervous function presented by the advent of the valve amplifier, which enables the messages passing in nerve trunks to be tapped and recorded with instructions rapid enough to follow them but too insensitive to be used without amplification. In 1926 his discovery with Zetterman of the rhythmic discharge of impulses by a single sense organ in muscle was rapidly followed by many observations showing this to be a general principle of signalling used throughout the nervous system, in motor as well as sensory nerves. With many pupils and collaborators in the following years, many of the outstanding uncertainties of sensory function were made plain. He then turned his attention to the electrical changes of the brain and, following Berger's early work on these, laid the foundation of electro-encephalography, which has since become an important new branch of neurology.

PROGRAMME FOR THE 200TH SESSION

The Council will shortly be considering the programme of meetings for the forthcoming Session, and Fellows are invited to forward to the Secretary suggestions for Lectures and Papers.

THE SOCIETY'S CHRISTMAS CARD



With the Society's bi-centenary in 1954 in mind, the Council have chosen as the subject of this year's Christmas Card one of James Barry's murals in the Lecture Hall. These canvasses were painted for the Society between the years 1777 and 1872. The one selected represents a distribution of the Society's premiums, and includes portraits of some of its most notable early members, a key to which will be included in the Card.

Early notice of the production of the Card is made for the benefit of overseas Fellows, and it is hoped that orders which should be submitted as soon as possible, will be executed by the beginning of October.

An order form, with prices, will be found at the back of this issue of the *Journal*.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

A paper by

H. CLIFFORD SMITH, M.A., F.S.A.

read to the Society on Wednesday, 22nd April, 1953,

with the Right Honble. the Earl of Cromer, P.C.,

G.C.B., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., in the Chair

THE CHAIRMAN: As this is the first time I have had the honour of presiding at a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts, I esteem it a very special privilege to be doing so when my old friend, Mr. Clifford Smith, is going to deliver a lecture on a subject of which he is so eminent a master.

I know it is the duty of the Chairman to introduce the speaker of the day, but in this case Mr. Clifford Smith really requires no introduction from me, because among those learned in the various facets of the fine arts his reputation stands so high that we can be assured to-day that he will speak to us with an authority which is rare in these times.

I said that I think it is a special privilege for me to be here, but I rejoice to think that this privilege is being shared by all of us here. Mr. Clifford Smith is going to talk to us about Buckingham Palace, its history, its treasures and, in passing, will refer to the various sovereigns and consorts who, as the years went by, helped to embellish that building. I will ask Mr. Clifford Smith to speak to us about the Queen's house, which, in a very true sense, has now returned to its original appellation.

The following paper was then read:

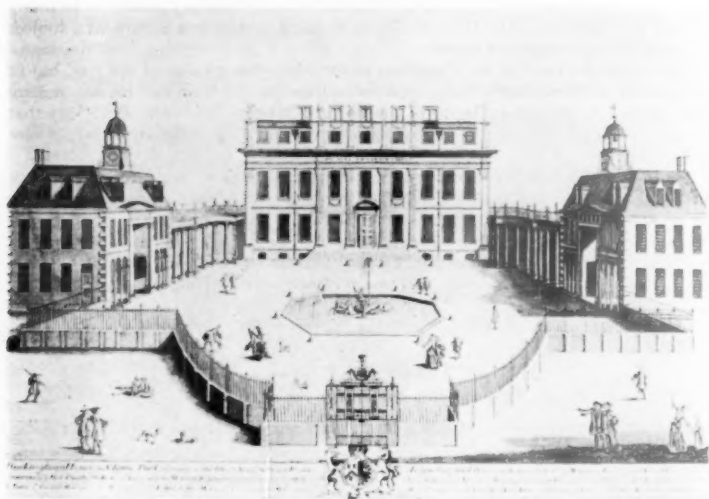
THE PAPER

For nearly two centuries Buckingham Palace, originally purchased by a King of England from a subject, has been the London residence of the British sovereign. It was King George III, grandfather of Queen Victoria, great grandfather of Queen Mary and three times great grandfather of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, who bought Buckingham House from the heirs of the Duke of Buckingham. The present palace was erected by King George IV round it, and takes its name from it. It was here that fourteen of King George III's and Queen Charlotte's fifteen children, including Queen Victoria's father, the Duke of Kent, and Queen Mary's grandfather, the Duke of Cambridge, were born.

On the accession of King George III in 1760 there were two royal residences in the occupation of the sovereign in London: St. James's Palace, and—a mile and a half away from it—Kensington Palace, where his grandfather King George II had died. For some years plans had been on foot for securing for the Crown the handsome red brick mansion entitled Buckingham House. This, with its forty-acre garden, had been built in 1703 at the western end of

St. James's Park by John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, created Duke of Buckingham by Queen Anne.

On their Coronation in 1761 King George III and his Consort, Queen Charlotte, decided to abandon the idea of living in Kensington Palace as it was too remote, and made St. James's Palace their home. Soon they found St. James's Palace, where their first son was born, too small. Negotiations accordingly were opened again, and in 1762 Buckingham House passed into Royal ownership. It was chosen primarily as a dower house for Queen Charlotte, but the King and Queen grew to like it so much that it became their London residence. This forerunner of the present palace became known as "The Queen's House", but Courts continued to be held at St. James's Palace—still the seat of the Court of St. James's.



By courtesy of the Victoria & Albert Museum

The front of Buckingham House as rebuilt in 1703, from an early engraving

A contemporary engraving of Buckingham House shows that it consisted of a central block with detached buildings on either side joined to it by curved arcades. The spacious forecourt, with an octagonal fountain in the centre, was enclosed by a tall railing with handsome entrance gates bearing the cypher and coronet of the Duke of Buckingham in elaborately wrought ironwork.

The Duke, a poet and scholar, speaks in the charming and intimate account he wrote of it, of the "advantage of its prospect and situation, in presenting at once to view a vast town, a palace and a magnificent cathedral . . . the far-distant prospect of hills and dales, and near, one of parks and gardens".

On the eastern front, looking towards St. James's Park, he inscribed in golden letters these words: SIC SITU LAETANTUR LARES, which in translation reads: "The household gods delight in such a situation". On the West front, facing the garden, he inscribed the motto: RUS IN URBE, "The country within a city". On this, the garden-side of the house, he adds, there is "a terrace wall covered with roses and jasmines . . . made low to admit the view of a meadow full of cattle just under it". While under the windows of what he describes as his "little closet of books" is a "little wilderness full of blackbirds and nightingales".

Before proceeding with the story of Buckingham House, the new residence of King George III and his Queen, we must go back some 150 years, in order to touch upon its site. A large part of the site on which the present Palace stands was earlier occupied by the Mulberry Garden. This was planted by order of King James I in 1609, upon four acres of ground on the edge of St. James's Park to provide leaves for feeding silkworms, in the pious hope of starting and fostering a silk industry in Britain. A lead plaque hangs on the last of his mulberry trees, which still stands in the Palace grounds and still bears fruit. It is inscribed: "MORUS NIGRA (i.e. BLACK MULBERRY) PLANTED IN 1609 WHEN THE MULBERRY GARDEN WAS FORMED BY JAMES I".

This four-acre Mulberry Garden was to be the centre of the new silk industry. But King James's laudable efforts in promoting the growing of mulberry trees for the feeding of silkworms extended much further. In 1609 he sent a letter to his Lords Lieutenant throughout the kingdom ordering them to announce that 1,000 mulberry trees would be delivered to each country town; and that all who could use them were to be persuaded to buy them at three-farthings a tree, or six shillings a hundred. It was at this time that Shakespeare planted his mulberry tree at Stratford-on-Avon. This famous tree was vandalously cut down in 1753, just 200 years ago, by the then owner of Shakespeare's garden at New Place. He did this in a fit of temper because visitors to Stratford so pestered him with their requests to see it. But scions from it were kept, and one, presented to Queen Victoria, now stands in the Palace grounds.

A treatise entitled *Observations to be followed For Making of Roomes to Keepe Silk-wormes in: and for the Best Manner of Planting of Mulberry Trees to feed them* was printed by King James's command, and copies of it, together with silkworm eggs and mulberry seeds, were sent to His Majesty's faithful subjects in the American colonies. The first vessel with these on board was shipwrecked. A second effort made in 1619 was more successful, and the Virginian settlers were urged to devote attention to the industry.

Meanwhile the project had failed at home, and was abandoned. Its failure, it seems, was not due, as is often said, to the planting of the wrong mulberry—the common black instead of the white mulberry (the *Morus alba*); for though the white is the silkworms' favourite food, the black has been much used to feed them. Either the English climate was too dull or damp, or they may have contracted some disease. In any case, all that remained was a fine walled garden full of mulberry trees and a group of buildings for the use of the weavers beside it, which stood on the site of the present palace courtyard.

On part of the Mulberry Garden Lord Goring later built Goring House. This in turn became the property of the Earl of Arlington, who erected Arlington House upon it in 1674. On his death it was sold to John Sheffield, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, who rebuilt it and named it after himself.

Except that the railings and entrance gates of the forecourt and the great fountain in its centre had been removed, and the lead figures taken down from the parapet for reasons of safety, Buckingham House passed into Royal hands with little external alteration, so far as its frontage was concerned. But considerable additions were soon made at the back by the erection of two oblong rooms and a great domed room to house the Royal Library, besides the "Mathematical" Room for the King's magnificent collection of clocks and mathematical instruments. It was in the great domed Octagonal Library (in February, 1767) that King George III's famous interview with Dr. Johnson took place. Asked (after the event) whether he had made any reply to the high compliment His Majesty had paid him, he answered, "No, Sir. When the King had said it, it was to be so. It was not for me to bandy civilities with my Sovereign". "Perhaps no man", Boswell comments, "who had spent his whole life in courts could have shown a more nice and dignified sense of true politeness than Johnson did on this occasion."

A view of Buckingham House in 1790 painted in water colours by Edward Dayes under the title of "The Promenade in St. James's Park", now hangs in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and some of the additional buildings can be clearly seen in it.

The noble portrait painted by Gainsborough in 1781, which hangs in the State Dining Room at Buckingham Palace, shows the first royal occupant of Buckingham House, King George III, in the "Windsor" uniform of blue and gold faced with red and wearing the star and ribbon of the Garter.

His Consort, Queen Charlotte, possessed outstanding artistic tastes, and though no more than 17 years old at the time of her marriage and coronation in 1761, surrounded herself from the first with the best that the British craftsman of the day could produce.

A brilliant picture of her, painted by Zoffany in her dressing-room at Buckingham House in 1765, hangs at Windsor Castle. The Queen is seen exquisitely attired, seated at her dressing table. She is accompanied by the Prince of Wales and Prince Frederick in fancy dress, with a boar-hound beside her on which she rests her hand. The draped mirror on the lace-covered toilet table reflects a charmingly piquant profile. Her head, with its powdered and exquisitely coiffured hair set with a small diamond aigrette, bears a striking likeness to that of Her Majesty Queen Mary, grand-daughter of Queen Charlotte's younger son, Adolphus Duke of Cambridge, through whom Queen Mary inherited the same rare gift of connoisseurship which Queen Charlotte possessed.

Another portrait of Queen Charlotte painted fourteen years later, in 1779, by Benjamin West, shows her with a group of the Royal children, then numbering thirteen. All of them (with the exception of the Prince of Wales) were born a

Buckingham House. The Queen wears a white taffeta dress and her powdered hair is dressed high in the fashion of the day. Beside her is her crown upon a tasselled cushion, and her pet dog sits on the Turkey carpet at her feet. The Royal children are very skilfully grouped together, with a view of Windsor Castle in the distance. On the left of the picture are the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, now aged 17 and 16. On the right are William, Duke of Clarence (afterwards William IV) and Edward, Duke of Kent (father of Queen Victoria). The four other Princes are Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, Augustus, Duke of Sussex, and Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge (grandfather of Queen Mary)—who wheels the perambulator in which is the infant Octavius, who died four years later at the age of four. The five Princesses, Charlotte, Augusta, Elizabeth, Mary and Sophia are in the centre of the group. The two other of Queen Charlotte's fifteen children were born after the picture was painted, Alfred who died as an infant and Amelia, who lived to the age of twenty-six.

This charming and most uncommon picture—a great historical treasure—was a special favourite of King George III, who had it in his breakfast room in Buckingham House. It was brought from Kensington Palace and hung in Buckingham Palace by command of King George V and Queen Mary in 1911.

For the furnishing of their newly acquired home—which they desired to be brought up-to-date—the King and Queen went to a firm of cabinet makers by the name of Vile and Cobb, who had their premises not far from Chippendale's in St. Martin's Lane. Vile and Cobb's cabinet work is generally recognized as being as fine as anything recorded to have been made by Chippendale, whose name, surprisingly enough, does not once occur throughout the Royal furnishing accounts.

One of the pieces of furniture carried out for Queen Charlotte by William Vile, senior partner of the firm, is now displayed at Buckingham Palace. It is a winged mahogany bookcase of the Corinthian order dating from 1762, and very sumptuously carved. The two centre cupboard doors in the lower part are carved with the Garter Star surrounded by rococo scrollwork, and on either side are oval wreaths of laurels—a distinctive feature of Vile's work. The upper part of the bookcase contains a very precious group of small works of art, mementoes of George III, Queen Charlotte and the Royal Family, brought together by Queen Mary. The bookcase itself, which was inherited by George IV from Queen Charlotte, passed eventually into the possession of Queen Mary, who presented it, together with its historical contents, to the Royal collections.

At intervals throughout the eighteenth century, ever since the Palace of Whitehall had been burnt down in 1698, models and designs had been made for the building of a royal palace in St. James's Park or Hyde Park. The Prince Regent had long had in his mind the project of erecting a building of sufficient size to house adequately the great collection of works of art he had brought together at Carlton House in Pall Mall, notwithstanding the fact that the magnificent Regent Street which linked it with the newly laid-out Regent's Park, was only just completed. His heart was set on the reconstruction of

Buckingham House as a palace. The following conversation is recorded by Nash, his architect, as taking place between the Prince and Lord Farnborough, his artistic adviser, in his presence.

Lord Farnborough was urging the Prince not to add to the old Buckingham House but to build a new palace on a level with Hyde Park Corner. The Prince, however, was obdurate. "If the public wish to have a palace", he observed, "I have no objection to build one, but I must have a *piéd à terre*. I do not like Carlton House standing in a street, and moreover . . . I *will* have it at Buckingham House. If he [Nash] pulls it down he shall rebuild it in the same place. There are early associations which endear me to the spot!" The result was that Carlton House was demolished and Nash was commissioned to re-construct old Buckingham House as a palace on the same site.

The work on the new palace proceeded very slowly. George IV, who died in 1830, did not live to see it finished, nor did William IV live long enough to occupy it. In May, 1837, he was told that it was ready, but within a month he was dead. On 13th July, 1837, three weeks after her accession, Queen Victoria, with the Duchess of Kent seated by her side, drove in state from Kensington Palace, where she had been born, to set up her court in Buckingham Palace. In the following year she drove from it to Westminster Abbey for her Coronation. The sumptuous furniture which George IV purchased for Carlton House had been duly set out by King William IV and Queen Adelaide in Nash's splendid state-rooms, and his magnificent pictures hung in the picture gallery erected by Nash for them.

The new Buckingham Palace, as completed by Nash, consisted of a large central block—which contained the shell of the old building—together with projecting wings on either side terminating in pedimented pavilions, forming an open courtyard. In front of the courtyard, in isolated grandeur, stood the Marble Arch, its elaborate fluted Corinthian columns presenting a striking contrast to the more austere Doric details of the Palace—built in sombre stonework—which formed its background.

A water-colour drawing by the painter, Joseph Nash, made in 1846, preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, shows the Palace as it looked during the first ten years of Queen Victoria's reign. The Marble Arch stands before it bearing a flagstaff on its summit, from which to fly the Royal Standard when the sovereign was in residence. Through the great archway Queen Victoria set out in the Royal State Coach for her Coronation in Westminster Abbey on 28th June, 1838, and through it she passed with Prince Albert after their wedding in the Chapel Royal, St. James's, on February 10th, 1840.

It was originally proposed to place a statue of George IV upon the summit of the Arch and Sir Francis Chantrey was commissioned to execute for the purpose a bronze statue of the King on horseback and in classical dress, in order, in the words of the command, "to transmit to posterity not only the portrait of the Monarch, but the character of the eminence which the arts have attained under his munificent patronage". Eventually, however, it was decided, instead, to place a flagstaff there; and when a few years later Trafalgar Square



By gracious permission of H.M. The Queen

*Buckingham Palace in 1746 from the water colour by
Joseph Nash in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle*

was laid out, the great equestrian statue of George IV was set up upon a tall granite pedestal in a corner of the Square, where it stands to-day.

The new Palace soon proved too small, and in 1845, on the fifth anniversary of her marriage, Queen Victoria addressed a letter from the Brighton Pavilion to Sir Robert Peel pointing out "the total want of accommodation for our little family which is fast growing up". Two years later a fourth side was added to Nash's open courtyard. The Marble Arch, which depended for its effect on its isolation, and would have been dwarfed by the new wing and become a mere obstruction in front of the Palace, was taken down, and the flagstaff for the Royal Standard transferred to the top of the new wing. For upwards of two years the fragments of the Marble Arch were stored away until, in 1851, it was re-erected as a gateway into Hyde Park at Cumberland Gate, to correspond with the Ionic Archway at Hyde Park Corner.

There is a water-colour drawing in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, of the new east front erected by Blore in 1847, which unfortunately involved the removal of the attractive pedimented pavilions that terminated the two wings of the forecourt.

The Caen stone of which the new front was built suffered so badly from the London atmosphere that its disintegration had soon to be remedied with paint; and the Palace front presented a somewhat dreary appearance until the present façade, which followed the old fenestration and retained the three archways

into the quadrangle, was rebuilt in 1913 in Portland stone by Sir Aston Webb, P.R.A.

The West or Garden Front of the Palace can be praised without reserve. It has a simple yet regal splendour and the level lines of the façade emphasize the projecting curves of the central bow. At the northern corner there is an oblong building with pedimented ends originally designed as a conservatory; at the other corner is the Private Chapel of the Palace, while the Ball Room forms a tall block at the south.

The forecourt of the Palace is enclosed by three similar sets of splendid gates executed in 1911 by the sculptor, Water Gilbert. Their magnificent enrichments are cast in bronze and applied to the framework of the gates, which are of wrought-iron. In the modelling of the Royal Arms which decorate each of the double gates, the sculptor has displayed artistry of the highest order coupled with consummate technical skill.

From the forecourt a central and two side entrances give access to the Quadrangle. Through the central archway of the main front can be seen the two-storied portico, known as the Grand Entrance. Its pediment contains a group of vigorous sculpture, the work of E. H. Baily, R.A., showing Britannia accompanied by Neptune and tritons being drawn in a chariot, and is surmounted by figures representing Neptune, Commerce and Navigation.

Before I describe the State Apartments, I would point out that the magnificent furniture, china, clocks, bronzes and ormolu-work, and the exquisite old master paintings that give them their outstanding distinction, are mainly drawn from the collections brought together by King George IV.

The great State Apartments at Buckingham Palace form a perfect setting for the sumptuous gilded and lacquered furniture and unique series of cut glass chandeliers from Carlton House. They harmonize with them in every respect, and illustrate the Regency style to perfection.

The superb pieces of Sèvres china set out in the State Apartments at Buckingham Palace owe their presence in the Royal collections to King George IV. The collection is one of the finest in the world, and can only be paralleled by that in the Wallace Collection.

It is to the taste and knowledge of Queen Mary, that the magnificent State Apartments of the Palace owe their striking and dignified appearance. Her Majesty, an expert and lover of the Regency period, exercised her special gifts in the setting out and re-arrangements of George IV's great art collections.

On King George V's accession the contents of the Palace were subject to careful scrutiny under Queen Mary's immediate supervision. Materials correct in design for wall coverings and upholstery were woven specially. Pieces of Victorian furniture alien to the period were eliminated; and steadily throughout the whole of King George V's reign Her Majesty, as opportunity occurred, purchased and presented to the Royal collections examples of Regency furniture and other works of art. These were exactly suited, both as regards style and date, to the Palace, and they completed the appropriate furnishings of the spacious corridors and smaller apartments of the Palace. Their arrangement and the

arrangement of the State and semi-State apartments, have since remained unchanged.

The entrance to the State Apartments—the Grand Entrance, on the west side of the Courtyard—opens into the Grand Hall. To reach the State Apartments, the visitor ascends the Grand Staircase rising to the first landing. From it the stairs curve upward to the right and left, to meet before a great marble doorway opening into the Guard Chamber. Thence through the Green Drawing Room we pass to the Throne Room and other great State Apartments of the Palace.

The balustrading of the Grand Staircase—probably the finest existing example of applied metalwork of the Regency period—is of gilded bronze wrought in a flowing design of acanthus scrolls and rosettes. The pattern of the balustrading is repeated on the broad band of plasterwork which adorns the walls.

On either side of the doorway are portraits by Sir Martin Archer Shee, P.R.A., of King William IV and Queen Adelaide, under whose direct supervision the Palace was originally furnished and equipped. On the left of Queen Adelaide is the Duke of Kent by George Dawe, R.A.

Above the doorway is a frieze of moulded plasterwork representing Autumn—one of a set of the Four Seasons executed from designs by Thomas Stothard, R.A. Higher up, in the lunettes of the domed skylight, are four other similar sculptured groups designed by Stothard, depicting cupids disporting themselves amidst foliage. It is recorded that George IV on being shown one of these groups jestingly remarked that Stothard, though advanced in years, had "lost none of his sprightliness".

The suite of State Apartments shown on the plan of the Principal Floor made in 1838, the year of Queen Victoria's Coronation, is exactly the same as those in which the Sovereign still holds court. Then, however, the courtyard was open and not enclosed by the East Front, and the Ball Room which was added in 1853, was not yet built.

The State Apartments are approached in the following sequence:

- the Guard Chamber,
- the Green Drawing Room, and
- the Throne Room.

These three apartments occupy the east or courtyard side of the suite, and between them and the apartments on the west or garden side of the Palace lies the Picture Gallery.

The other five State Apartments are:

- the Royal Closet,
- the White Drawing Room,
- the Music Room,
- the Blue Drawing Room, and
- the State Dining Room.

In place of the Octagon Room, the State Supper Room was built, and the Ball Room on the south at the same time.

Some of the rooms on the north wing were then the Duchess of Kent's.

Later, the whole wing became the Sovereign's private apartments. The buildings on the south wing were then and are still the Household Apartments.

Passing through a small oval apartment, known as the Guard Room, the visitor enters the Green Drawing Room, the centre room on the east side of the courtyard, which lies immediately above the Grand Hall. The Throne Room can be seen beyond it.

The walls are covered with striped green, and the windows curtained with green figured-silk damask, woven for Queen Mary from a surviving fragment of material of the same pattern as that with which the room was originally furnished in 1832. Round it stand two sets of gilt chairs made for George IV by his cabinet-makers Morel and Seddon in 1828. A century later, in 1928, under Queen Mary's supervision, their worn-out coverings were replaced with silken material patterned in green and gold, of the same date as the chairs themselves, which was found rolled up in a storeroom in the Palace.

In the life-size group, painted by Winterhalter in 1846, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, accompanied by their five elder children—the Prince of Wales, Prince Alfred, the Princess Royal, Princess Alice and Princess Helena as an infant—are shown seated on two of the fine chairs from one of these sets, the arms of which terminate in lions' masks.

The Throne Room is as magnificent as its function demands. At its north end is the Royal Alcove containing the Throne Dais. It is flanked by piers supporting massive trusses from which spring winged figures of Victory, the garlands in their hands meeting in the centre medallion set with the cypher of King George IV. Round the upper part of the walls are friezes representing the "Wars of the Roses", executed from designs by Stothard. The Throne Room is lit by a huge fifty-four-light central lustre eight feet across; and six other chandeliers of thirty-six lights each, shedding a total light equal to that of 3,000 candles. The magnificent throne-like seats that flank the Royal Alcove were made about 1813 for the Prince Regent as council chairs for the Throne Room at Carlton House.

In a window recess beside the Royal Alcove is the State Throne of Queen Victoria, its tall back carved with the Royal emblems surmounted by the Royal Crown. Standing as it would have stood upon a dais, its low seat, suited to the small stature of its Royal occupant, would be less noticeable than it appears.

The chief doorway of the Throne Room, by which we enter from the Green Drawing Room, faces the Royal Alcove. Like the other doorways of the State Rooms, it is framed in marble and decorated with oak-leaves and acorns in ormolu, and is fitted with mirror doors mounted with the Royal Crown and other ornament elaborately chased in ormolu. Above the doorway is a bust of King William IV, under whose direction the Throne Room was completed in 1833. On either side are portraits of King George III and Queen Charlotte in their robes of State, painted at the time of their Coronation by Allan Ramsay, court painter to the Crown. From the centre of the ceiling hangs the great cut-glass lustre of fifty-four lights, of which I have spoken, and from its corners are lustres of thirty-six lights each.

29TH MAY 1953

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Leaving the Throne Room, the visitor crosses the Picture Gallery and, passing through a small drawing-room called the Royal Closet, hung with early Italian paintings, enters the White Drawing Room.

This fine apartment, a favourite room with the Royal Family, has been used for the most important family celebrations such as weddings and christenings during the last hundred years, and also as a reception room for state parties. Above the frieze and cornice is a series of beautifully modelled panels containing groups of children in high relief, described as the *Origin and Progress of Pleasure*, executed by the sculptor William Pitts.

The ceiling, of tent-like form, is crowned by three shallow domes, and the floor is covered with a magnificent Axminster carpet, forty-eight feet long, designed to echo the main outlines of the ceiling. From the centre of the ceiling hangs a great cut-glass chandelier of forty-eight lights, originally at Carlton House, and at its corners are four smaller lustres of similar design, of twenty-four lights each. The White Drawing Room is also lit by many very fine ormolu candelabra. It contains a number of valuable specimens from the Prince Regent's superb collection of Sèvres china.

The next room, the centre room of the western range of State rooms, is the Music Room, formerly known as the Bow State Drawing Room, from its bay of five large windows overlooking the Palace gardens. Above the bow is a semi-dome, and above the room itself a circular dome supported at the four corners of the room by shields bearing the arms of King George IV. The three recessed



From Buckingham Palace by H. Clifford Smith, *Country Life*
The West Front

arches above the doorways contain groups representing *Harmony*, *Eloquence* and *Pleasure*. The columns are of deep blue scagliola in imitation of lapis-lazuli, with Corinthian capitals in gilded bronze. Suspended from the centre of the dome and from the half-dome are two immense chandeliers of ormolu hung and festooned with prismatic drops—unquestionably the most magnificent of the many that adorn the Palace. The curtains and the coverings of the Louis XVI gilt furniture are of rose-coloured silk damask.

The Private Chapel has been unusable since the war owing to bomb damage, and the Music Room has been used for all religious services at the Palace. In this room, which was specially arranged for the purpose, the christenings of Prince Charles and Princess Anne took place.

Beyond the Music Room is the Blue Drawing Room, formerly the Ball Room of the Palace. In this most handsome and finely proportioned room, sixty-eight feet in length, Nash is seen at his best as a designer of interior decoration. The walls are hung with a flock wallpaper of turquoise colour on a background of shaded umber.

The curtains and the upholstery of the fine gilt Regency armchairs and settees are of blue satin brocade. The Axminster carpet, like that of the White Drawing Room, is designed with circles of garlands of flowers within bold scrolls of golden acanthus. The room is altogether delightful in colour, with its crimson and gold carpet, delicate blue walls and upholstery; the deeper blue Sèvres porcelain; the honey-coloured columns with rich orange-red bases; the gilded ceiling, and sparkling faceted crystal chandeliers.

The last room on the south end of this range of the State Apartments is the State Dining Room. Here the walls are of honey-buff colour, and the curtains of crimson velvet brocade on a background of yellow silk shot with gold. Upon the walls, between the vaults of the ceiling, are medallions bearing the crowned cypher of King William IV, and at either end of the room a similar medallion, added later, with the cypher of Queen Victoria.

The dining table, which is eight feet three inches across, can be increased to seventy feet in length to provide seating accommodation at State dinners for sixty guests, in addition to the King and Queen, whose custom it has been, during the last three reigns, to sit facing one another in the centre of the table—the King occupying a position beneath Lawrence's great portrait of George IV, which forms the centre of the magnificent row of full-length Royal portraits extending along the wall, facing the windows. The State Dining Room can best be appreciated at its full magnificence when the glittering array of gold plate is displayed upon the dining table and side tables on the occasion of State dinner parties. Its appearance early in the reign of Queen Victoria, with George IV's gold plate laid out for a banquet, can be seen in a water-colour drawing made by Douglas Morison in 1843, now in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle.

An imposing portrait, nine feet high, of George IV, the builder of the Palace, in Garter Robes, painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence, hangs above the chimney-piece and dominates the room. Upon the table at his side can be seen the Royal Crown of England which he had made with characteristic lavishness for his

53
ace
is-
re
lu
nt
is
e,
n
of
m
ht
n.
d
es
g
of
n
s
d
e
n
d
e
o
r
e
s
t
e
s
e

7TH MAY 1953

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

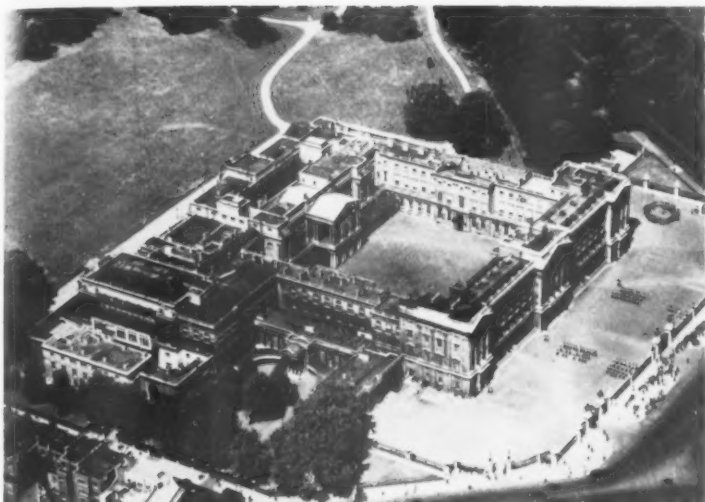
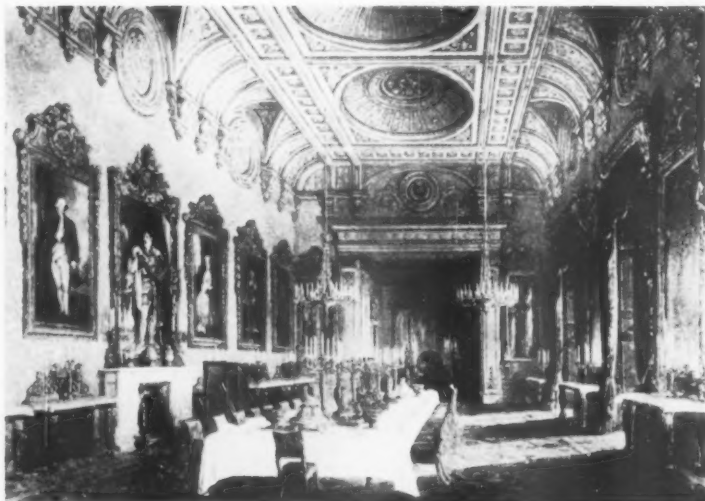


Photo by Aerofilms Ltd.

An air view of the Palace from the south-east

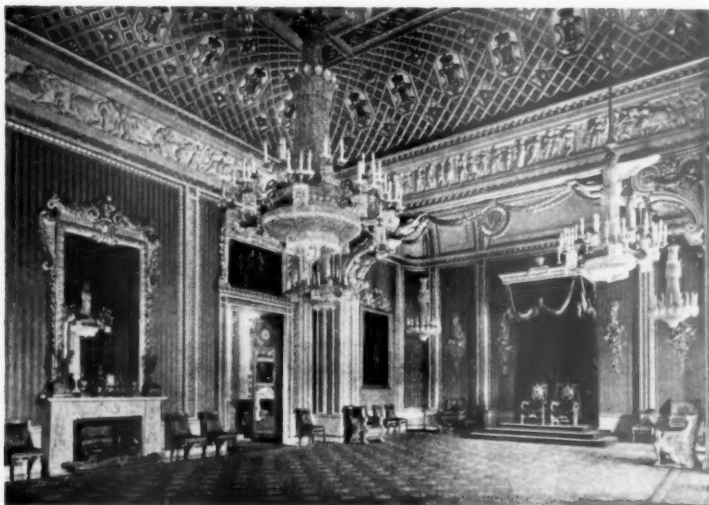


By gracious permission of H.M. The Queen

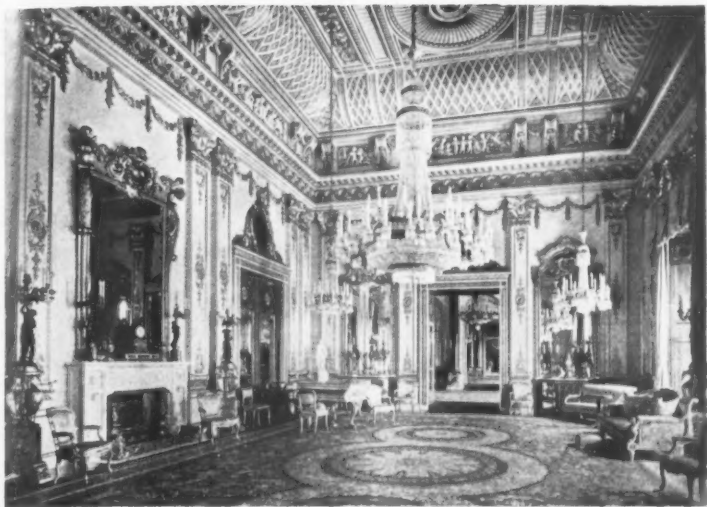
The State Dining Room in 1843, from the drawing by Morison at Windsor Castle



From Buckingham Palace by H. Clifford Smith. Country Life
The Centre Room with the Balcony window



From Buckingham Palace by H. Clifford Smith. Country Life
The Throne Room



From Buckingham Palace by H. Clifford Smith, Country Life
The White Drawing Room



From Buckingham Palace by H. Clifford Smith, Country Life
The Blue Drawing Room



From Buckingham Palace by H. Clifford Smith. Country Life

The Throne dais in the Ball Room. The canopy of the dais was designed by Her Majesty Queen Mary

Coronation, which took place with unparalleled magnificence on 19th August, 1820. The bold and splendid tones of this monumental painting with its towering carved and gilt wood frame, have afforded a colour-scheme of crimson, buff and gold for the State Dining Room, which has been designed to harmonize with the picture. Its foreground has provided a tint for the walls and its sumptuous crimson curtains the keynote for the upholstery and hangings.

The Ball Room, 123 feet long and sixty feet wide, was built for Queen Victoria by Sir James Pennethorne in 1853. It is reserved for the most important State functions—Evening Courts, State Balls and State Banquets. It also serves for Investitures.

At the far end, above the throne dais, is the recess. It is enclosed by tall Corinthian columns enriched with gold, which carry an arched entablature surmounted by a crowned medallion containing profile portraits of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. These are supported by seated figures emblematic of *History* and *Fame*. Below stand graceful figures typifying *Music*. Beneath is a superb crimson silk canopy, its hangings, made for the Coronation Durbar at Delhi in 1911, embroidered with the Arms and Cypher of King George V. The thrones seen upon the dais were made for their Majesties King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra for the Coronation ceremony at Westminster Abbey in 1902. They have since been used here in this position on State occasions by their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary, and by their Majesties King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother.

King Edward VII's throne, beautifully executed in carved and gilded wood and covered with crimson velvet embroidered with the King's cypher and the Royal emblems, now serves her present Majesty as a Chair of State.

The great Picture Gallery, 115 feet long and twenty-seven feet wide, which lies between the east and west ranges of State Apartments, contains the greater part of the superb collection of pictures, mainly works of the Dutch and Flemish masters, made by King George IV. Throughout the Victorian era, the heavy mouldings of the glass roof obscured the daylight, while at night scant illumination was provided by a row of brass chandeliers. The gloom was accentuated by deep crimson walls and an elaborately patterned dark crimson carpet. Under Queen Mary's supervision, the glass roof was reconstructed and concealed lighting introduced above it. The crimson covering of the walls was replaced by olive green damask for the walls and furniture, and the floor laid with a plain pile carpet of the same delicate shade of olive green.

Lack of time prevents me from describing the series of semi-State rooms which lie below the State Apartments on the West or Garden Front or those on the first floor of the East Front overlooking St. James's Park, which open into a spacious gallery known as the Principal Corridor. Many of the latter rooms are fitted with chimney-pieces and furnished with furniture transferred from the Royal Pavilion at Brighton; and in the Corridor itself are displayed examples of the sumptuous lacquered cabinets purchased by the Prince Regent. The Corridor is divided into three sections by mirrored partitions decorated with carved swags of fruit and flowers. Above the doorway shown here, is a portrait of

Queen Victoria by Sir George Hayter. In the corners are two of a set of four magnificent ten-storied Chinese porcelain pagodas, each fifteen feet high, from the Royal Pavilion.

The last of the rooms I mention, the principal room on the first floor of the East Front overlooking St. James's Park, is known as the Centre Room, from its central position below the flagstaff, from which the Royal Standard flies when the Sovereign is in residence. Its chief features are two very fine marble chimney-pieces elaborately decorated with ormolu in the Chinese taste brought from the Banqueting Room at the Royal Pavilion.

When shortly after the accession of King George V, the redecoration of the room was decided on, Queen Mary devised for it a Chinese scheme in harmony with the chimney-pieces and other decorative items from the Royal Pavilion. Hangings of celadon green satin ornamented with Chinese embroideries found in store rooms of the Palace were employed for window-curtains, and a set of embroidered Chinese panels of Imperial yellow from the same source hung upon the walls. The whole scheme, together with the many Chinese and *chinoiserie* objects set out in the room, forms an outstanding example of decorative work in the Oriental taste. The Centre Room also bears the title of the Balcony Room, since its three tall French windows open on to the balcony upon which the Sovereign, with other members of the Royal family, gather on occasions of national importance to acknowledge the greetings of the crowds below. On these occasions the stone balustrading is draped with crimson cloth.

Finally, I mention again the fascinating portrait by Zoffany of Queen Charlotte seen reflected in her looking-glass as she sits before her dressing-table—a portrait which bears so striking a likeness to that of Her Majesty Queen Mary. Queen Mary was conscious of the resemblance she bore to Queen Charlotte, and was also aware of the artistic debt she owed her for the gift of connoisseurship which each possessed to a superlative degree.

Of Her Majesty Queen Mary, it may truly be said:

NIHIL QUOD TETIGIT NON ORNAVIT

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Clifford Smith has taken us into this excursion through the pages of history, and demonstrated the different phases through which Buckingham Palace has passed. As you know, he is a great expert, and it is his book about Buckingham Palace, published some years ago, which is the standard work. In fact, we are fortunate here to-day in having heard an unequalled authority on this subject.

I express our thanks to Mr. Clifford Smith for having spared the time to come here and speak to us.

The vote of thanks to the Lecturer was carried with acclamation; and, another having been accorded the Chairman, the meeting then ended.

ROYAL PORTRAITS IN EFFIGY: SOME NEW DISCOVERIES IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

A paper by

R. P. HOWGRAVE-GRAHAM, F.S.A., M.I.E.E.

Assistant Keeper of the Muniments, Westminster

Abbey, read on Wednesday, January 28th, with

C. K. Adams, F.S.A., Director and Keeper,

National Portrait Gallery, in the Chair

THE CHAIRMAN: I have been given the honour and privilege of introducing to you to-day Mr. Howgrave-Graham, the Assistant Keeper of Muniments at Westminster Abbey, to give a talk on "Royal Portraits in Effigy: Some New Discoveries in Westminster Abbey." It is the duty of the Chairman to be brief; and I will reserve the few things I have to say until after he has spoken.

THE PAPER

Many who were familiar with the funeral effigies in wax when they were housed in the upper chapel of Abbot Islip's chantry may remember certain earlier figures lying in glass cases in the Undercroft Museum. The dirt of centuries and the gross and contemptuous ill usage of post-Reformation days had blackened and injured them sadly. Writers in the eighteenth century showed complete indifference to historic and artistic values, even of the more popular wax effigies, so that the earlier ones had become macabre and dingy through sheer ill-treatment and neglect. Yet before the late war they still evoked moving mental pictures of the tremendous ceremonies in which they had once played a spectacular part and even when they had become little more than symbols of ancient splendour one or two retained visible dignity and character. It has long been known that they were carried in state with the coffined bodies at the funerals of monarchs, but it has been less fully realized that their main function was to lie in state—first at the place of death and then at that of burial. There are interesting questions as to their places of storage in the Abbey through the ages, but a record informs us that one, at least, was "had into a secret place by St. Edward's shrine". Similarly, the French ones were kept after the funerals by the monks at the Abbey of St. Denis.

An amusing instance of the eighteenth century attitude is that of the sculptor Nollekens, who muddled them up with the wax effigies and spoke of them as "wooden figures with wax masks, all in silk tatters, that the Westminster boys called the 'Ragged Regiment' ". The wax effigy of La Belle Stuart still had her pet parrot, probably the oldest stuffed bird in England, and Nollekens,

talking to Catling the verger, said: "What! Where the Poll-parrot is? I wonder they keep such stuff!—I don't mind going to Mrs. Salmon's Wax-work in Fleet Street where Mother Shipton gives you a kick as you are going out. Oh dear, you should not have such rubbish in the Abbey".

Their state in 1872 is seen in a picture in the *Illustrated London News*, where they are shown piled ruthlessly in a press while Paterfamilias with mother and child seems to suffer from a somewhat unintelligent anxiety for their welfare. In 1907 they were the subject of a fine paper delivered in the Abbey precincts by the late Sir William St. John Hope, who not only gave reasoned attributions to them but produced most valuable documentation from State records.

Before the late war all but two had bodies, some with articulated limbs for easy dressing, and all the early ones were made light for processional purposes. Those of solid wood were hollowed out and others had bodies made up of hay with leather or plaster. Five were stored in a strong place, but a fire due to an incendiary bomb in the building above resulted in a flood of water some ten inches deep and they remained in fully saturated air for eight years. In the autumn of 1949 when it seemed to many that their condition was utterly hopeless, permission to attempt their salvage was obtained. Glued joints had separated, limbs were detached, plaster was falling off almost daily and the hay of which two bodies were partly made was wet and rotten, and contained wood-lice and maggots. I will not trouble you with individual details of the difficulties and crises which arose in the two-year struggle to arrest deterioration and stabilize the plaster and paint. Removal to a dry place caused slow shrinkage of wood and the consequent shedding of plaster and peeling of paint. The oldest effigy had a plaster mask almost detached from the wooden core; a considerable area of plaster was gone and there was a deep fissure in the chaie with linen and plaster exuding. The top of the nose, which was intact in 1907, was lost and all the paint was coal-black. Almost daily injection through some 150 tiny holes was carried on with this one for eighteen months; the injections usually involved a long kneading process to coax the fluid into the cavities and crumbling parts beneath. The final injection was made at the end of two years during which period plaster or paint would fall in a night and in the case of one figure general peeling occurred suddenly after five weeks of apparent stability. This required instant measures involving almost non-stop treatment for eleven hours. On one occasion I saw a flake of paint skip like a flea. One effigy shed flakes in a light breeze or through careless breathing, but loss of paint was minimized by laying back the flakes one by one though they generally broke in the process.

Cleaning revealed the original facial colour, sometimes fairly bright, and remnants of hair recovered from most of them was kindly examined by Dr. H. S. Holden of the Metropolitan Police Forensic Laboratory at Scotland Yard. All hair was human except the eyebrows of Edward III, which were from a little dog. These examinations gave us the hair-colours of the dead monarchs; that of Henry VII, mixed red and grey, may even be his own. The effigies originally had rich cushions, and shreds of fibrous materials on the backs of some of the heads proved to be sea-grass which is still used for stuffing pillows, etc. Such



Heads of Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, Anne of Bohemia, and Anne of Denmark (left to right). The three queens have temporary dressing and Anne of Bohemia has a modern wig. The hand, with index finger broken, belonged to Elizabeth of York, and is the only remaining hand from all the effigies



Head of Anne of Bohemia, Queen Consort of Richard II, before and after restoration

20TH MAY 1953

ROYAL PORTRAITS IN EFFIGY



Photo by Philip Brown of Black Star



Head of King Edward III during and after restoration



*Effigy of Katherine of Valois, after the arrest and repair
of sudden peeling which took place after five weeks of drying*

minor discoveries, though fascinating, had not the importance of the facts which emerged during the restoration of the heads of Edward III and Henry VII. A striking distortion of King Edward's mouth and the left side of the face puzzled me until Mr. Martin Holmes of the London Museum suggested that the face was a death mask recording the stroke which we know ended his life at the age of sixty-five when, during a painful day of wretchedness and repentance, the one priest who attended him while he was abandoned by his vile mistress and his court recorded the only utterance he could make—"Miserere Jesu".

Examination by Sir Henry Hake, late Director and Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery, and Mr. R. P. Bedford, F.S.A., himself a sculptor, proved this to be a death mask and as the reputed mask of Dante is probably not genuine, this of Edward III, who died in 1377, is the oldest European one in existence. Examination by Dr. Macdonald Critchley and Dr. John Penman, both highly expert neurologists, confirmed the record of the paralysis caused by the stroke, and a further conclusion was that, being on the left side and combined with loss of speech, it shows the king to have been left-handed. The process of cleaning revealed most of the original colour of the face and eyes. Examination also showed that the head of Henry VII is a death mask and there is no doubt that the others are finely carved portraits in wood made with death masks for models.

Death masks were made in Egypt in B.C. 2350, and it is significant that a number discovered at Amarna and belonging to the fourteenth century B.C., were found in a sculptor's workshop. This is interesting in view of my belief that the tomb effigies of monarchs, and even of some other great people, were made by artists from death-masks. The Greeks made life-like waxen images of Princes, which remained in the palace as the ceremonial centre and were then carried in procession to the funeral pyre where they were burned with the body. At the top an eagle was released to carry the soul to Heaven. Somewhat similar customs are recorded in Ancient Rome. All this, with the gorgeous ritual carried out in English and French Royal funerals, assures me that the custom originated in very ancient ritual though it may also have been confirmed and perpetuated by the terrible difficulties caused when dead monarchs were transported long distances and exposed to view as was thought desirable.

In France we know that the *peintre et valet de chambre du Roy* were employed instantly on the death of the Monarch to make a life-size wicker image with a death mask, which was coloured and had the eyes made natural and open. The hair for head and face was human, and we have full details of the gorgeous robing, the rich cushions of cloth of gold, the crown and sceptre and the lying-in-state amid watching nobles and monks with countless candles burning day and night. The body was cased in waxed linen or sealed in lead and lay with the effigy, first in the Salle d'honneur, then in Notre Dame and finally in St. Denis. In England the procedure was exactly the same in almost all respects and so closely traditional was it that even Oliver Cromwell's funeral repeated everything, including the robing in crimson velvet with ermine and the provision of crown and sceptre. In England the lying-in-State was set in an incredibly magnificent stationary erection called a "herse", which sometimes had towers, pinnacles and

other elaborations in wax. We have the account of 1503 for the two horses for Queen Elizabeth of York—one at the Tower and one in the Abbey. Long pages of items are headed "Yet for the herse", and the last entry is for meat and drink for the labourers. Torches and wax for candles were bought almost by the ton and the whole cost was £437, something like £15,000 of latter-day pre-war values. The effigy and the coffined body of Elizabeth of York were taken from the Tower to Westminster on a "chayre" or chariot draped in black velvet.

"When the corpse was inside a holly chest was placed over it whereon was a ymage or personage lyke a quene clothed in the very robes of estate of the queen, having her very rich crowne on her hed her here about her shoulder hir sceptre in her right hand and her fyngers wel garnished with ryngs of gold and precious stones and on every end of the chayre on the cofres kneled a gentelman husscher by all the way to Westminster."

This is followed by an account of the elaborate ritual on arrival. I found the ear-ring holes in the ears of this effigy. I was anxious to find the final link between the taking of the death mould and the carving of those effigies which are of wood, and at last Mr. John Harvey brought to my notice a record of Roger Ellis, tallow-chandler, who made a "persona" or death mask of Queen Anne of Bohemia. As we have the portrait head of her effigy carved in oak, it is reasonably sure that the sculptor had for his model the cast from the face-mould made by Ellis.

Taking the effigies in chronological order we have first Edward III, who died in 1377. The moving description in Chron. Angliæ, 1328-88 by a monk of St. Albans, tells us of the faithful priest who exhorted and comforted him on his final almost speechless day. He made signs of understanding and kissed a crucifix. "He gathered all his strength for utterance which was broken by a sob arising from the weakness of his body, and said '*Miserere Jesu*', and with this last word he concluded all his words". Dr. Critchley tells me that the facial paralysis is compatible with the ejaculation of a few words under strong emotional stress. The effigy was made by Stephen Hadley, but it was quite unknown until the recent restoration that this or any others were in any way connected with casts from the actual features.

The areas of lost plaster on the head looked like exposed brain and there were shocks for those who saw the figure under a white sheet with myself in overalls using surgical instruments and a hypodermic syringe. The top of the splendid nose was gone, but the characteristic nostrils remained and renewal was carefully based on the bronze tomb-effigy. Edward, according to a contemporary writer, was of god-like beauty, and the two or three minute hairs which were the only remains of the great wig and beard formerly on the effigy seemed to be of reddish gold tint.

The wooden head of Anne of Bohemia, Queen of Richard II, who died of plague in London, aged 28, in 1394, was almost black and had a damaged nose, but enough of it remained to make renewal possible with little risk of inaccuracy. Cleaning and repair revealed a most interesting face. It is perhaps less exactly

accurate than the others but sculptors and artists admire its great beauty, and the mediaeval stylism shows the usual skill in making the appearance when seen in profile on a high catafalque the most beautiful and natural aspect. A wig-nail which remains was driven into the hard oak by such a violent hammer-blow that its head bent over and imprisoned some brown hair. Thus we know the colour of her hair, and my recovery of one of her bones, stolen possibly by a Westminster boy, gives us her approximate height of five feet three inches. This head must have witnessed the wild scene between Richard and the Earl of Arundel at the funeral, which had been postponed for months to make it specially splendid.

Katherine of Valois, the Queen of Henry V, who died in childbirth in 1437 at the age of 36, when almost a prisoner in Bermondsey Abbey, affords an interesting parallel with French procedure, as she lay in state in St. Katherine's Chapel by the Tower, and then intermediately in St. Paul's. The effigy, cut from solid oak and hollowed out until it was quite thin, was, curiously enough, carved with robes painted bright red though it was to be covered by rich fabrics. A particle of material from under one of the nails was found to be a crimson velvet. There is a circular sunk ring round the head on which the crown was fitted, and the hair was brown. The carver, trying as usual to simulate the living face, was not wholly successful and as we look at the face we can easily imagine the little French lady's last days alone in the daily routine of a nunnery with Owen Tudor in prison, and her memory recalling the years of consortship with a brilliant and popular monarch. It was this effigy which unexpectedly began a rapid peeling of its paint after five weeks in a normal atmosphere.

The tall, beautiful golden-haired Elizabeth of York died on her birthday in 1503 at the age of thirty-eight. There seems to be general agreement as to her gentleness and nobility, and there is much to suggest far greater warmth and affection between Henry VII and his queen than has been commonly supposed. I have already described the magnificence of her lying-in-state, and we can take the most interesting facts about the effigy as typical. The full account remains in the most minute detail, nearly all of which can be verified from the effigy itself. Items include "Waynscotts called Regal", and "Oon hole pece of Sipers 2s. 4d". The effigy is built up of thick boards called "waynscotts" and the "sipers" seems to me to be the description of some remaining material which looked inconsiderable and even repulsive with its indurated dirt, but has proved to be exquisite gold satin. Mr. Laurence and Fredrik his mate received 13s. 4d. "for kerving of the hedde", and we have—"Item to Wechon Kerver and hans van hoof for kerving of the twoo hannds 4s." Joiners were paid 3s. for day work and 3s. for night work "for joyning of the waynscot togeder".

The effigy of Henry VII had long been recognized as something fine and was by some judged as the handicraft of an Italian artist and even as the work of Torrigiani. It lay in state in "a marvellously curious grete herse of IX principales full of light". The King's "Pictor" cost £6 12s. 8d. apart from the robes. Much of the nose had already been lost in 1907 and its condition was much the same in 1949. The body, made needlessly fine for the mere disposal of robes, was

originally founded upon an extraordinary wooden frame round which hay was packed and prevented from slipping by huge wooden nails driven into the back and front. Canvas and plaster were wound and moulded over the hay into human form with great skill and, though cracked, it was in good condition before the late war. I have already described the unsavoury, irreclaimable heap to which this body had been reduced by 1949. The hay was carefully sorted and yielded twelve separate plants, all of which were identified by Dr. Margaret Brett. They included Dutch Clover from early summer and vetch-pods in seeds belonging to autumn; so ricks of the two seasons provided the hay and some bedding straw suggested stables—perhaps the Royal ones in Westminster Palace. The hay may have grown in Tothill Fields and the Dutch Clover, seemingly unknown as a crop until later date, was perhaps from bird-borne seed. The face-paint was blowing off, the neck was in seven pieces, and over the top of the head was a kind of thin cap of plaster which had apparently been laid on to hold hair, some of which remained imprisoned. This hair was mixed red and grey, and was just possibly his own. The cap was rotten and so loose that it could be turned bodily. I will pass over the details of the prolonged work of salvage which I approached with such dread that I was inclined to shirk the responsibility but,



*Armature of
Henry VII effigy*

encouraged by my chief, Mr. L. E. Tanner, I began tentative experiments, being determined to preserve every square inch of plaster and paint which could be saved. When much had been done Sir Henry Hake and Mr. Bedford pronounced it a death-mask and the work became even more interesting. The clotting of the dead king's right eyebrow by the grease used in making the mould is recorded in the plaster positive. I will not trouble you with details except as regards the nose, the work on which revealed important facts. As Torrigiani's bronze in the Abbey seemed to be the obvious model, a cast was made but proved to be quite impossible. Comparisons with remaining portraits of the king were made and to my delight I found that exact facial measurements were so nearly identical with those of the fine terra cotta bust in the Victoria and Albert Museum, that the Italian artist who made the bust could obviously be trusted for accurate portraiture. Mr. H. D. Molesworth of the Sculpture Department had a cast made for me and the new nose based on it was satisfactory. The Kensington nose was a little wider and could not possibly be copied precisely as the existing nostril-roots of the death mask were narrower than those of the bust. This one difference may well be due to the thinning effect of greater age, and of illness and death. Torrigiani's bronze must be either merely inaccurate or deliberately stylized, for the nose is too long and thin. The death

mask has a pleasant dimple in the chin, which was missed in the bust and in the bronze. Equally in this face and in the Victoria and Albert bust we have a bold, open and firm expression, but neither harshness nor craftiness, and it may be that this last quality appears in the picture at the National Portrait Gallery as a result of a stylism which occurs in some other portraiture of the period. In the main we must obviously accept a death mask without question. The one exception is the eyes which are of necessity a craftsman's work, but may we not credit these eyes in view of their agreement with those at South Kensington? On at least four occasions the face has been remarked upon as Welsh and one visitor, ignorant of its origin, said "Who is your Welsh miner?"

The bust of Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I, which escaped the war-time disaster, is a very fine portrait carved in wood and painted with utmost skill to show even the blue veins in temples, face and breast. It is so accurate that a pimple has been carved on the left cheek which involved carving away the surrounding area to leave it. Behind what is little more than a mask of paint, this head is a porous mass of wormed and crumbling wood. Most of the worms did not emerge from the paint and it is hoped that, being now dead, the filling of some 150 holes in the painted surface will make it indefinitely safe in its exhibition case. What more is needed to show the successful intention to make these images exact and life-like portraits, not of dead monarchs but of the former living and normal people?

As the work progressed it became ever more apparent that the tomb effigies were based on those used for funerals and therefore on death moulds, and since we know that funeral effigies were made of other monarchs, even back to Henry III, and of some non-royal great people, we may well revise some of the fixed beliefs about the absence of tomb portraiture until the fourteenth century. I have even heard the bronze effigy of Edward III dismissed as merely the figure of a grand old king and based on tradition.

In conversation with the late Sir Henry Hake, shortly before his death, I discovered that his mind was moving in the same direction, but the matter is still controversial and it would be unfair to his memory to quote him as a confirmed adherent to my own views, nor will I bring forward in this lecture my own arguments for the frequent use of real portraiture on the monuments of great people whose wealth made available the work of fine artists while humbler folk could only command conventional figures and shop work. The matter needs further investigation.

Questions as to the use of death-masks in the making of tomb-effigies and as to when portraiture was adopted require further investigation. Whatever of theory and conjecture may survive we have at Westminster Abbey an unique group of newly revealed and highly authentic portraits of two great kings and four historic queens-consort, each with its own individual beauty and interest, and all most moving in their intimate associations with our national history and the human and religious pageantry of the past.

DISCUSSION

THE CHAIRMAN: I should like to thank the lecturer for his extraordinarily interesting lecture, and for the wonderful slides; I believe among his other accomplishments he is a highly skilled amateur photographer.

In the history of most ancient institutions one finds there are periods when the objects in their possession are uncared for and neglected, and other periods when the institutions are fortunate enough to have devoted servants. I think Westminster Abbey is very fortunate in that Mr. Howgrave-Graham came along with his self-imposed task of preserving objects which, to all appearances, seemed to be only fit for the dust-bin when they were got out after the war. Although he has been most modest, I think one can see from the photographs and gather from his remarks that he must have devoted an enormous amount of time, trouble, care, thought and skill to the preservation of these objects, which are extremely interesting historically.

There have been, and still are, I believe, people who are doubtful about the question of the portraiture of some of the earlier of these effigies. I think in some of the early accounts there is mention of the making of a *similitudinem regis*. The question is whether the "similitude" was of a king or of the king. As there are records that, before these effigies were made, the face of the king was exposed when his body was taken to the funeral, I think it seems extremely likely that, when it was decided that that was not a satisfactory procedure because the royal funerals took place so long after death, they would have wanted to make something as near life as possible. Then it is said that in that case they would not take a death mask, because people would not want to see an effigy of the king as he was after death, but in good health. In the case of Edward III, I think it is quite possible that, as he had such a growth of hair, moustache, beard and so on, it was not necessary to alter the face; his paralysis would be covered by the hair on the face. In other cases these wood carvings were made, as Mr. Howgrave-Graham has pointed out, probably from masks, but the sculptors could have taken the opportunity to carve the faces as they were in good health, and would not have made exact copies of the masks. In only two cases are they the masks themselves.

Mr. Howgrave-Graham said that I might have something to say about stylization in portraiture. In looking at portraits over a number of centuries, one does find that there is stylization peculiar to different periods. At the time Anne of Bohemia was living, I deduce from effigies and illuminated manuscripts that women liked to be shown with rather long oval-shaped faces; and we saw that in the effigy of Anne of Bohemia she had been given a long oval face. But that does not imply that it is not a portrait. In the first half of the sixteenth century, people, in England at any rate, were painted with rather thin lips. In that period the thinness of the lips was exaggerated; but I think we can still say that the portraits that have survived are in many cases reasonably good likenesses. Similarly, in Charles II's period, ladies liked to be painted with large eyes and heavy, sleepy eye-lids.

MRS. CHARLES MORDAUNT: Can these effigies still be seen?

THE LECTURER: Henry VII has gone to St. James's Palace, where there is going to be a Westminster Abbey exhibition in connection with the coming big Appeal Fund. I hope everybody will go to it; it is going to be very fine. That is the only one of the effigies that will be there. At the moment the others are all in the Undercroft Museum. Edward III and Katherine of Valois are there in their permanent cases, and the others are only awaiting their cases to join them.

Some people might like to see the exquisite remnant of the "Oon hole pece of Sipers" from Elizabeth of York's effigy, which goes back at least to 1503, and covered the whole breast, arms and back at a cost of 2s. 4d. It was filthy-looking stuff; the first

four washings were like Indian ink, and some of it was rotten and came to pieces. But this was a perfect piece, it has the selvedge and is of the most beautiful golden satin. There has been a great dispute about it as English experts refused to believe it could have been made in 1503, because it was a finer and a different weaving from anything they knew of that date. I sent it to the Textile Museum at Lyons, and they said that they did not see why it should not have been made in 1503. The idea put forward here was that it was fixed on the effigy at the time of James I when he wanted to show the effigies to a foreign potentate. However, I settled the matter to my own satisfaction for I found in the account a charge for a row of nails, which could only have been used to hold the silk to the body, and a separate account for the second coating of paint. A microscope showed that this second coat had run over on to the satin.

There is one point that Mr. Adams raised about Anne of Bohemia's head. In the *Liber Regalis*, the Coronation Book, which has long been thought to have been made for her coronation, we have three pictures beside the dead king's effigy: we have a picture of a king being crowned alone; a king and a queen being crowned together; and a queen consort being crowned alone. All the faces of the abbots, archbishops, acolytes and royalties are highly stylized; but the face of Anne of Bohemia—if it is Anne of Bohemia—the face of the consort queen is quite different from the others, it is long, and oval, very much like the effigy. However, the experts on fourteenth century manuscripts will not allow that portraits were attempted in manuscripts at that date.

MR. H. ALAN LLOYD: I was very interested in the reference to the sinister look in Henry VII's portraits; I think there is a growing school of thought that Henry VII might be responsible for the murder of the Princes in the Tower, rather than Richard.

THE LECTURER: I think there is a great deal of evidence in favour of that theory—circumstantial evidence; there is very little direct evidence. But in order to establish it I think it is necessary to nullify the researches made by pathologists when they examined the bones of the two little Princes. You will find it all, with photographs of the bones, and a pathological analysis of the condition of the teeth, in a paper by Mr. L. E. Tanner and Professor Wright on the bones of the two Princes which were put into the casket in Henry VII's chapel by Charles II. The pathologist and the dental expert who examined them said that the bones showed that the children could not have been alive in Henry VII's reign; which would argue that Richard III, as is usually supposed, was the instigator of the murder. If that pathological examination can be upset, there is a great deal to be said for the theory. But it has got to be upset first, and it is of first importance.

MR. F. E. HANSFORD: I am sure our lecturer will be familiar with the tapestry depicting the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York which has hung for a great many years in the parish church of Lyme Regis in Dorset. It is some years since I have seen it, but I have looked at it very carefully on several occasions, and many experts think that it does represent actual portraiture in tapestry. I believe—relying on memory—that there is a great similarity between the faces of Elizabeth of York and Henry VII and those which have been shown on the screen this afternoon. I should like to know whether our lecturer shares with me that belief in the similarity of portraiture between the Westminster effigy and the Lyme Regis tapestry.

THE LECTURER: I am sorry to say that I have no recollection or knowledge of the tapestry, although I went to Lyme Regis church when I was a boy. Is there some documentary evidence that it is intended for them, or is it just based on likeness?

MR. HANSFORD: It has always had that title; and it is believed by experts that it is a contemporary tapestry depicting the actual marriage. It is a very fine and extremely interesting panel.

MR. C. D. P. NICHOLSON: May I ask Mr. Howgrave-Graham what was the fluid with which he impregnated the plaster?

THE LECTURER: Ordinary shellac. But I believe that I.C.I. have something called "Bedicryl" which is considered to be better.

MRS. BLAKSLEY: What were the woods chiefly used?

THE LECTURER: Katharine of Valois, oak; Edward III, walnut; Elizabeth of York was built up of thick boards but I am not sure about the wood used. Pear tree timber is an item for the hands in the account. Anne of Denmark was mixed wood; they used a fine wood for the face and part of the breast, but the shoulders and the parts that did not matter because they were going to be covered with robes, seem to have been cut out of something coarser. The two poles forming the inner supports for legs of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York look as if they were cut from ordinary rough tree growths.

You see, from the point of view of these people there was no need for the effigies to be permanent. That is the extraordinary thing, that they should have done this wonderful work for things which were going to be on exhibit for a week or two, and then thrown away for the monks to store somewhere. All that beautiful finish was done in the utmost haste. I do not know any other detail about the wood. The "waynscott boards called Regal" are I think a fairly common sort of wood, but good enough for precise carving.

A vote of thanks to the Lecturer was carried with acclamation; and, another having been accorded the Chairman, the meeting then ended.

G E N E R A L N O T E S

ROYAL PORTRAITS ON EXHIBITION.

The various effigies of our Sovereigns and their Consorts during the past thirteen hundred years, assembled in the Diploma Gallery of the Royal Academy, and a corresponding exhibition of Kings and Queens arranged with equal care at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, cause one to reflect again on the decline in quality of State portraiture since Lawrence. "With Lawrence the grand manner revived" (notes Mr. David Piper, prefacing the Liverpool exhibition), "and indeed rose to a climax that Shee and Wilkie almost maintained, a fine romantic bravura that is quenched only in the hard and even light of the Victorian high noon. Perhaps the best of Victoria's portraits are the domestic ones, by Landseer and Winterhalter, and it is difficult now for an artist to conceive a robed portrait without becoming self-consciously theatrical".

That is to put the best complexion on the matter, though it is certainly true that Landseer could produce the liveliest informal sketches in oils of the young Queen and Prince Consort, far removed however from the finished portraiture under discussion. As for Winterhalter, his large and lifeless group of the Queen surrounded by her young family in 1846, a canvas unredeemed by any refinement of feeling or touch, sufficiently explains his neglect at a time when Victorian art is continually being revalued. It was accordingly natural enough that, at the end of the Victorian reign, the emergence of a portrait painter of abounding vitality, capable of setting Rank and Fashion on canvas with astonishing actuality (with the flourish, but without any of the distinction of Lawrence at his best) should have been greeted with disproportionate enthusiasm. Indeed at Sargent's death in 1925, the Press was still

29TH MAY 1953

GENERAL NOTES

acclaiming him as "*A master*" "*More than a painter, a genius*" pæans that seem strangely unreal to-day.

Our age, it seems certain, is incapable of bringing into being a genius to portray Royalty with the delicate insight of Van Dyck, whose portraits of Charles I are at once so intimate and so stately. At the same time, account has to be taken of the vastly changed relationship of the Throne and people in this century, and the continual requests from City Corporations, City Companies, Regiments, and other organizations for Royal likenesses. Palace sittings must inevitably be restricted, and the consequent use of the photograph has led to an official style of Court portraiture which, to the student of painting, so often appears a lifeless photographic technique. On the other hand, the gracious expression is usually as exact as the camera can record, and in this respect Mr. James Gunn, Mr. Edward Halliday, and others meet a wide popular demand with the professional competence expected of them.

Ideally, of course, a Royal portrait (like any other) should be a revelation of character as well as a satisfying picture, refined in touch and the quality of the paint, and possessing a vitality all too rarely attained. The bust-portrait of the Queen when Princess Elizabeth, by Professor Rodrigo Moynihan, may be judged a quiet and serious, if hardly a very memorable study; and a more ambitious work of quality is undoubtedly a new full-length portrait of the Queen by Mr. John Napper, which commands attention in the Liverpool exhibition mentioned. The likeness may be considered inexact, and the head is possibly a shade too small; but against these defects must be set the distinguished quality of the painting as a whole, made from brisk studies without any recourse to photographic aid.

Posed on a staircase leading up into cloistered darkness, the figure is firmly and delicately modelled with an admirable realization of the form underlying the full grey dress, which is painted with extreme refinement. The spare ornaments are hardly noticed, and what holds the attention are the unity and continuity of the forms, and the grave composure of the Sovereign whose physical presence is sensed at once. It is far from being a "popular" and flattering presentment and, as might be expected, the portrait has had a mixed reception in the North; but its quality will certainly gain increasing recognition, and meanwhile Liverpool is to be congratulated on commissioning so serious and deliberated a work of art.

NEVILLE WALLIS

OBITUARY

THE EARL OF CROMER

We record with regret the death, on the 13th May, of the Right Honble. Sir Rowland Thomas Baring, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., second Earl of Cromer, at the age of 75.

Lord Cromer entered the Diplomatic Service in 1900, and served in Cairo, Teheran, and St. Petersburg, and then at the Foreign Office. In 1916, with his appointment as Equerry in Ordinary and Private Secretary to King George V, he started a career of service to the Royal Family, during which from 1922 to 1938 he was Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household.

His connection with the Society, of which his father had been a Vice-President, started when he was elected a Fellow in 1932. As recently as 22nd April, he took the chair at the meeting which is reported in this issue of the *Journal*.

LORD ABERCONWAY

We also record with regret the death, on the 23rd May, of the Right Honble. Sir Henry Duncan McLaren, C.B.E., LL.D., Hon.A.R.I.B.A., J.P., second Baron Aberconway, at the age of 74.

Lord Aberconway was called to the Bar in 1905, and in 1906 became Liberal Member of Parliament for West Staffordshire; in 1910 he succeeded his father as Liberal Member of Parliament for the Bosworth Division of Leicestershire. He followed his father, too, in his shipbuilding and engineering interests; he became Chairman of John Brown and Company, of Thomas Firth and John Brown Limited, of Yorkshire Amalgamated Collieries, and of Tredegar Iron and Coal Company.

He was President of the Royal Horticultural Society from 1931 until his death, and the beautiful gardens at Bodnant, a part of which he gave to the National Trust, were largely his work.

He was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1943, and was a Vice-President from 1943 to 1948.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE STATE AND THE CRAFTS OF ART

From MR. P. A. RICE, "LAMPLANDS", EAST BRABOURNE, ASHFORD, KENT.

In his timely plea for state aid to save the traditional crafts, Mr. Pilkington Jackson touches the heart of the problem. The use of the terms "crafts of art" itself suggests a vital distinction. True craftsmanship involves hand work that is subject to artistic, rather than scientific control, while architecture, as distinct from engineering, is organized craftsmanship; outside the "portable crafts" it is to the architect and the local builder that the whole-time craftsman must look for salvation. If too often he looks in vain, Mr. Butler is certainly not alone to blame for the result. For quite apart from the hard economic facts which are apt to deprive him of the very materials of his profession, the patronage upon which he relied in the past is now, for the first time in history, being withheld by an equally powerful æsthetic motive. The notion propounded by the distinguished designer of the new Coventry Cathedral that "science can produce as beautiful forms in cement as our predecessors did with stone" is being sedulously propagated in the schools, as well as more generally diffused "on the air"; we are for ever being told by the leaders of the so-called modern movement in architecture that any attempt to answer the challenge of the machine to the craftsman is not merely futile, but artistically dishonest. Yet the stubborn fact remains, that no more in building than in any other visual art is there an adequate substitute for the personal touch, and it may be doubted whether an architectural policy which deliberately eliminates our surviving craftsmen from the building industry in the name of novelty and æsthetic progress is really what we want in a world from which individuality is vanishing at such an alarming rate.

Surely the fruitful, if restricted, co-operation of architect and craftsman, whether stonemason or bricklayer can still preserve, as can nothing else in an unstable and increasingly artificial civilization, a sense of reality and of profound satisfaction in what the Prime Minister has called the "continuity of our island life". Machinery has a fascination inherent in its own "dynamic of structure", and the romance of engineering is a very real romance; but beyond the bounds of its growing dominion there remains an ample realm of spiritual and romantic experience of which the craftsman, alone holds the key; and unless our way of life is to become hopelessly one-sided, he must be encouraged to use it to the full extent of the limits imposed by a reasonable economy. Let us be up to date by all means, but it may well be that the more we live by and for machinery the less do we want machines to live in.

NOTES ON BOOKS

THE STORY OF THE ENGLISH COINAGE. By Peter Seaby. *Seaby's Publications*, 1952. 10s 6d

Though this book is modestly aimed at the neophyte collector of coins, it will inform and interest the general reader.

The introduction, supplemented by notices under Elizabeth I, Charles II and George III, sufficiently describes the techniques successively used in England for production of dies and coins. The arrangement is otherwise chronological. The obscure princes of Britain before the Roman conquest and their coinages are well handled. A sketch of the trivial coinage of the island during the occupation follows. The account of the confused mintings of the Anglo-Saxon Kings is necessarily highly selective; the creation of the oldest of our surviving denominations, the penny, is credited to one of these, Æthelbert II of Kent, twelve centuries ago and somewhat earlier than the usual attribution to Offa. The tale afterwards runs straightforwardly, reign by reign, through the introduction of other small silver, gold, large silver and copper, to the supersession by base metals of all others.

The main purpose and utility of the work are descriptions of the designs of coins. The text provides an inventory of all major changes, with copious representative illustrations, which reveals the persistence of coin patterns.

Of small but significant marks on coin, the privy and stop marks which distinguish periods of issue before coins were dated are too numerous to be listed; the marks which distinguish Mints or the provenance of metal appear to be fully recorded; a selection is given of artist's and manufacturer's marks.

Room is also found for brief accounts of tokens issued privately in lieu of coin from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, and of the Maundy service.

Accuracy on the main points does not extend to all incidental statements. The Trial of the Pyx was not long, if ever, held at three monthly intervals; the annual Trial was an increase in frequency; the attendance in person of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not obligatory. The interval of a century between the invention and final adoption of coining machinery was probably not due to the fears of Mint workers for their jobs; it was unaffected higher officials who advised and the Monarch in Council who decided. Very little of the money in circulation in 1695 dated back to Edward VI. A "silver famine" under George III is misleading; the Mint and the circulation went short throughout the eighteenth century, but there was plenty of silver in England for making plate and for export. Nor were the interruptions of copper coinage by the Mint due to the price of metal, which had in fact fallen, but to presumed gluts in circulation. The different values put in 1812 on silver tokens of the Banks of England and of Ireland were not due to greater scarcity of silver in Ireland: 6s. Irish exchanged for approximately 5s. 6d. English.

JOHN H. CRAIG

SHADOW OF EROS. By Adrian Bury. *Dropmore Press*, 1952. *Limited Edition*. £3 3s

Mr. Adrian Bury's account of Alfred Gilbert's career and work is clearly a labour of love, and as evidently the product of much patient research. At the same time, it is much more in the nature of a generous obituary than a reassessment of Gilbert's work, a dispassionate examination of just those qualities that distinguished his memorial and other sculpture from the run of works in his day, which one might have expected some twenty years after the sculptor's death. Mr. Bury does indeed avoid the irrelevant digressions, and generally the high-flown language which marred Mr. K. R. Towndrow's study of Alfred Stevens a few years ago; but, on the other hand, this volume is unlikely to move the Tate Gallery authorities to devote a whole gallery permanently to the author's hero, which was Mr. Towndrow's achievement.

Yet it required to be told (as it ought one day to be filmed), this story of the creator

of the Eros Fountain, and of other works less renowned, but as refined and craftsmanly; and the narrative holds our attention. We have glimpses of the musician's son growing up, and applying himself to art in London and at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris; we discover him in Rome, and later in Florence steeping himself—like Stevens before him—in Renaissance art, and revelling in the consummate craftsmanship of Ghiberti and Cellini; we watch his early success at the Royal Academy and his misfortunes with the Shaftesbury Memorial Committee; we attend his bankruptcy in 1901, follow him on his flight to Bruges, and return with him to London a quarter of a century later for his completion of the Clarence Tomb, and the honours heaped on him in his few remaining years. "Other famous artists have experienced the caprices of fortune", observes Mr. Bury, "but . . . none triumphed a second time as Gilbert did on the very threshold of the grave".

Well, those triumphs seem very remote to-day, for Gilbert has had no influence whatever on the subsequent trends of sculpture. Exquisite as his decoration could be, inspired by Cellini's art, it must be acknowledged that his accumulation of ornament often ignored the nature of the material, and such indifference must be reckoned a defect at least. Nevertheless, there are certainly occasions when Gilbert's nobility of conception, and his acute sensitivity to the relation between surface ornament and solid structure, outweigh other considerations; and his monumental studies alone, such as the preliminary sketch for the Clarence Tomb, may even raise him in time to an honoured place beside Alfred Stevens. If the long pendulum of fashion does indeed restore Gilbert to favour, no one will have better reason to be satisfied than Mr. Adrian Bury.

NEVILLE WALLIS

FROM THE JOURNAL OF 1853

VOLUME I. 27th May, 1853

From the report of the Twenty-Second Ordinary Meeting of the Society

The Secretary drew the attention of the members to a magnificent series of volumes, relating to the Great Exhibition of 1851, recently presented to the Society by the Royal Commissioners; and read the following letter which accompanied them, from the Secretary of the Commission [Edgar A. Bowring]:

I am directed, by Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, to transmit herewith a complete set of the various works, illustrative of the Exhibition, that have been prepared by their orders for the purpose of presentation to Foreign Governments, &c.

The Commissioners are desirous of availing themselves of this opportunity of expressing the high sense entertained by them of the very valuable assistance which they have received, through the whole course of their labours, from the Society of Arts. They feel that that Society, by means of the early Exhibitions instituted by it, first showed the possibility of the successful realization of the great International Exhibition of 1851; whilst the benefit of its co-operation has at all times been freely given by it to the Commissioners from the date of the issue of the Royal Commission. It was by members of the Society of Arts, again, that a large proportion of the most zealous and efficient services rendered to them by *individuals* was afforded; and a further proof of the sympathy of the Society is to be seen in the institution by it of the interesting series of Lectures on the results of the Exhibition, which have lately come to a close.

It therefore affords Her Majesty's Commissioners much pleasure to have it in their power to record, in a permanent manner, by means of the slight tokens that accompany this letter, their appreciation of the cordial co-operation of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, towards bringing the Exhibition to its successful issue.

only;
son
Arts
like
an-
emy
his
to
and
ave
hed

nce
uld
of
be
rt's
ace
ntal
ven
n of
be

LLIS

es,
by
m,

51,
on,
ugn

of
ch
ety
ed
nal
ely
on.
ost
nd
it
ve

in
nat
ety
its